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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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December 8, 1983

Executive Registry

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MEMORANDUM FOR The Secretary of State

The Secretary of Defense
The Secretary of Energy
The Director, Office of Management and Budget
The Director of Central Intelligence
The Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff
The Director, Arms Control and
Disarmament Agency
The Director, Office of Science and
Technology Policy
The Administrator, National Aeronautics and

Space Administration

SUBJECT:

Back-up Material for Consultations on the Strategic Defense Initiative (C)

A short paper to provide you with additional unclassified information on the strategic defense initiative is attached at Tab A. This paper has been keyed to a short briefing based on the charts at Tab B. The briefing team, if called upon, will actually use an expanded version of the briefing outlined here. (C)

J. M. Poindexter
Deputy Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs

cc: The Vice President

Attachments

Tab A Background paper
Tab B Charts

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BRIRFING ON

THE PRESIDENT'S STRATEGIC DEFENSE INITIATIVE

President's Initiative

- e On March 23, 1983, President Reagan announced a long-term goal of eliminating the threat of nuclear-armed ballistic missiles through the development of defensive system technologies and thereby decreasing U.S. reliance on offensive nuclear arms to maintain its security and that of its allies. (Chart 1)
 - As a first step, the President directed that: (Chart 2)
 - relevant technologies; and
 - an analysis be made of the strategy and arms control implications.
- This work has been completed and submitted to the President
 for review.
- After the review and consultation with members of Congress and our allies, the President will make a decision on a defensive technologies RaD program.

Defensive Technologies

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- Recent advances in defensive technologies and last summer's thorough examination of these technologies by a wide range of experts lead us to believe that: (Chart 3)
 - -- emerging technologies would make development of defense against ballistic missiles possible; and that
 - a vigorous RLU program, broadly based but highly result-oriented, should be pursued. This would permit informed decisions on whether to initiate, in the early 1990s, a full scale engineering development phase which ultimately could lead to a deployed defensive capability after the year 2000.

- e Such a system probably would be multi-layered; that is, designed to destroy ballistic missiles or their warheads in all four phases of their flight; boost, post boost, mid-course, and reentry. (Chart 4)
- e Significant intermediate technologies can be demonstrated over the next 10 years for performance verification, and also to provide visible evidence of U.S. progress and resolve and as a hedge against Soviet developments.
- a Technologies which will enhance the survivability of the system, particularly the space-based elements, are vital to the program and will be fully explored.
- The RaD program must include a means to identify and support innovative ideas, especially those from the U.S. academic community by reserving a portion of the DABM budget for such investigations.

Cost

- Prior to the President's initiative, approximately \$18 billion was already planned to be spent by the Departments of Defense and Energy during Fiscal Years 1985 through 1989 for development of relevant technologies (Chart 5).
 - -- Increase of up to 25 to 50 percent will permit technologically limited R&D on the most promising concepts.
 - -- However, the specific budget level will be determined in the context of total requirements for Fiscal Years 1985-89 which will be reviewed and approved by the President. It will then be presented to Congress in January 1984.

Bedge Agairst Soviet Program

- The decision to pursue a defensive technologies RED program is not solely a U.S. initiative. (Chart 6)
 - The Soviet Union currently is:
 - upgrading the world's only active BMD system,
 which currently consists of large battle
 management radars and four launch complexes
 consisting of a number of smaller engage—
 ment radars and GALOSE interceptor missiles;

- -- pursuing PSD on a rapidly deployable ABM system; and
- pursuing a substantial, advanced defensive technologies program, including directed energy technology, which could lead to the testing of space-based ABM systems in the mid-1990s and deployment after the turn of the century.
- The Soviet Union also is deploying a surface-to-air missil: system, the SA-10, and is flight testing another, the SA-X-12, both of which potentially could intercept some types of U.S. ballistic missiles.
- e The pace of Soviet RaD programs and production capabilities would enable the Soviet Union to deploy a widespread, ground-based interceptor ABM system within the next ten years.
- A U.S. defensive technologies program, therefore; is a prudent response to Soviet RLD activities in this field and as a hedge against unilateral Soviet efforts to achieve an advanced defense system.
 - -- unilateral Soviet efforts to achieve an effective, advanced defense against ballistic missile system if nuccessful, in concert with the Soviet Union's manaive offensive forces and its already impressive air and passive defense capabilities, would have a very serious, adverse effect on our security and that of our allies.

Deterrence and Stability Implications

- The strategic defense initiative is consistent with, and in no way alters the long-standing U.S. policy of deterrence.
- Defenses against ballistic missiles have potential for increasing deterrence and strategic stability by: (Chart 7)
 - reducing the utility of preemptive attacks on retaliatory forces.
 - denying an aggressor confidence in the results of any Strack;
 - -- reducing or eliminating (when combined with effective air defenses) effective counterforce options--both limited and major (allows penetration of insufficient weapons to significantly

damage military assets, leaving only countervalue options of limited utility and credibility); and

- -- decreasing incentive to MIRV ballistic missiles through boost-phase intercepts.
- e For the foreseeable future, however, we will have to depend on a strong, modernized and effective TRIAD to maintain deterrence.
- e Some uncertainties affecting deterrence and stability remain to be resolved as we learn more about the technical characteristics of defensive systems and likely Soviet responses. The uncertainties relate to:
 - effectiveness of U.S. and Soviet defensive systems and each side's perception of the other's capability;
 - -- the vulnerabilities of the defensive system;
 - -- the size, composition and vulnerabilities of each side's offensive nuclear forces; and
 - the overall NATO-Warsaw Pact military balance, and means to deter conventional force aggression.

Arms Control Implications

- The research and development effort envisaged by the President's initiative is consistent with current U.S. treaty obligations. The initial stage of the President's initiative contemplates only research on a broad range of defensive technologies. (Chart 8)
- The President's initiative complements the quals of our INF and START negotiations -- significant reductions in offensive nuclear armaments:
 - of ballistic missiles, thus increasing the likelihood of negotiated reductions.

Current Programs and Force Policy

The initiative in no way signals a shift in priority away
 from the modernization of strategic and intermediate-range nuclear

assets and conventional forces essential to the maintenance of deterrence over the next decade or two. (Chart 9)

Defense Initiative and the Allies

- e U.S. commitment to the defense of the allies is not changed by strategic defense initiative.
- The U.S. intends to work closely with its friends and allies to ensure that our common deterrent remains strong and effective and that allied security against aggression is enhanced by the initiative. (Chart 10)



OBJECTIVES AND TASKS

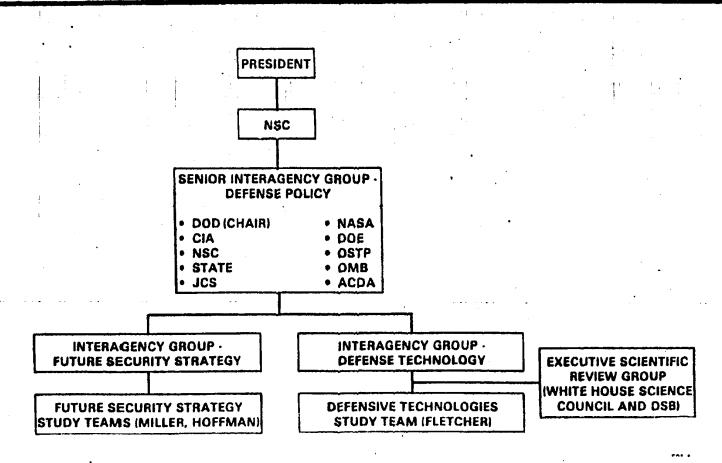
- PRESIDENT REAGAN'S SPEECH (23 MAR 83)
 - REDUCE EXCLUSIVE RELIANCE ON RETALIATION, INCREASE CONTRIBUTION OF DEFENSE
 - LONG TERM R&D PROGRAM
- NSDD 85 (25 MAR 83)
 - GOAL: ELIMINATE THREAT OF BALLISTIC MISSILES
 - STUDY STRATEGY AND DEFINE AN R&D PLAN
- NSSD 6-83 (18 APR 83): TWO STUDIES TO BE SUBMITTED OCT 83
 - FUTURE SECURITY STRATEGY STUDY: POLICY ASPECTS
 - DEFENSE TECHNOLOGY STUDY: LONG-TERM R&D PROGRAM PLAN

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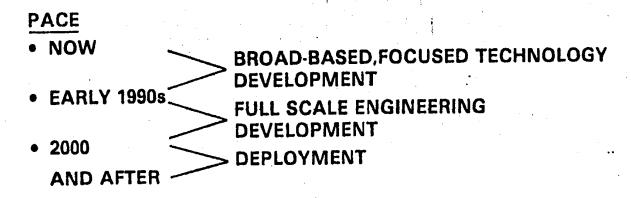
ORGANIZATION FOR NSSD 6-83





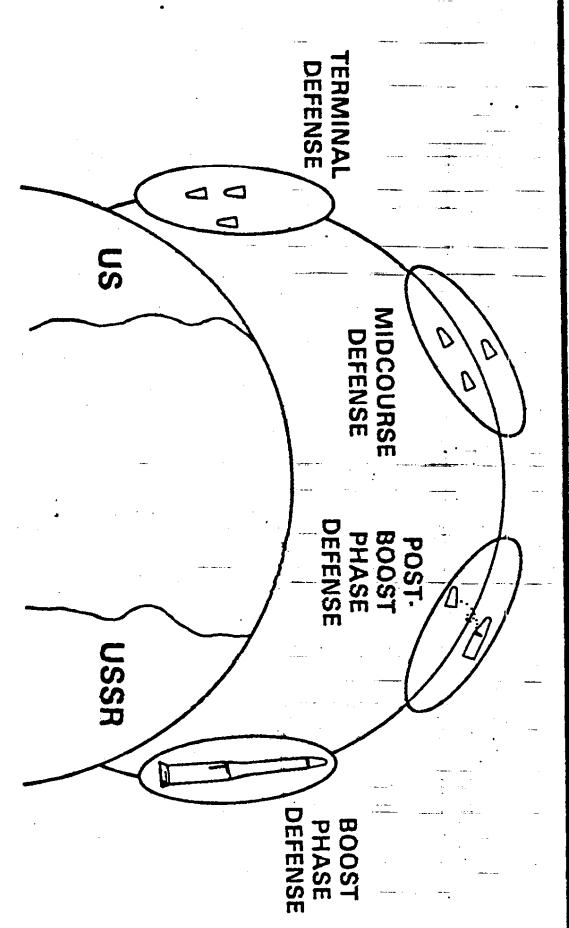
FLETCHER STUDY CONCLUSIONS

DEVELOPMENT OF EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES CAN MAKE DEFENSE AGAINST BALLISTIC MISSILES POSSIBLE



FEATURES

- MULTIPLE LAYERS
- TECHNICAL DEMONSTRATIONS
- SURVIVIBILITY
- INNOVATION





MULTIPLE LAYERED DEFENSE

PROGRAM

ENHANCED R&D



FUNDING OBJECTIVES

HEN YEAR R&D DOLLARS IN BILLIONS)

ORIGINALLY PLANNED FOR RELEVANT TECHNOLOGIES

85

85-89

25-50% INCREASES

Japanese

Soviet upgrading world's only active BMD system. Union currently:

pursuing advanced defensive pursuing R&D on a rapidly deployable ABM system technologies program

unilateral Soviet deployment would result superiority and adversely affect Western and in Soviet

hedge against unilateral Soviet deployment;

technologies program, therefore,

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IMPLICATIONS FOR DETERRENCE

Effective defenses against ballistic missiles have deterrence. increasing deterrence and stability: combined with reduction or elimination of significant reduction in utility of preemptive increase constitutes no change to long-standing policy in attack uncertainties; effective air defenses; effective counterforce options, when potential 90

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ARMS CONTROL IMPLICATIONS

President's initiative consistent with current U.S. treaty obligations:

President's of defensive technologies. initial stage of initiative contemplates only research on a broad range initiative

significant defenses have potential for reducing value of ballistic missiles, thus increasing likelihood of negotiated reductions. reductions complements goal of INF and START negotiations-in offensive nuclear armaments.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CURRENT PROGRAMS
AND FORCE POLICY

assets and conventional forces remains a top U.S. priority. Modernization of strategic- and intermediate-range nuclear force modernization necessary to deterrence while defensive technologies in development stage;

defensive technology